/8 cont./

851 Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

[431] In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, [428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [213] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

[16 cont.]
until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn. The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it. The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother -- the shaman in this case -- continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[21cont.]

755 796 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is organized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person [515] is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth 796

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family necklace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [578 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura...," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will [931] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham- 583 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has [264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see [574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her [573] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know, [574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life [762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ajor*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *ishiruna*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *unu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

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hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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neighbourhood. We did not know exactly where he was at the time, but hoped that our Indians with their tracker's sense would be able to find him.

We were unlucky, however. Our animals were tired, and had the maize sacks to carry as additional loads, and our progress was very slow. We had bought a pack mule, which Father Crispin had thought highly of. He was an expert on Goajiro animals, which are not quite like others, but this time he had evidently made a mistake for the mule was useless. We heard Francisco shouting at it alternately in Spanish and Goajiro; the Indians hauled on its halter and kicked it from behind, but nothing helped. When we came to a place where there was a little grass, we decided to halt and sleep there among the ants on the ground. Mules never seem to sleep: they trot by day and graze by night. I asked Francisco when they slept. The question astounded him: he had never thought of mules as requiring sleep.

We were so tired that, as soon as the animals had been loosed on to the grass and our camp set up, we fell asleep without thought of ants or other creatures. Although we had not found the chief, he found us. He must have had his scouts out. Anyway, in the morning he rode into our camp and invited us to his temporary residence, which was quite close. The shortage of pasture had turned him into a nomad.

This chief, Antonio, was a mestizo. He had no Indian clan name, but called himself Gonzalez. Certain mestizos and mulattos had Indianised themselves and become rich men, not always in an exemplary manner. Once rich, owning slaves and cattle, they also acquired power and were called chiefs, at least by white people. They were not real chiefs of clans.

We were given a most friendly and hospitable reception. A cloth was put up to protect us from the sun, and refreshing chicha, the fermented maize brew, was served us all day long. The food was good: grilled beef, maize rolls, the black fruits called olives, boiled roots of some seed imported from moister regions, and cactus figs, which the Indians called *ipuruya*. The chief and his family lived in the centre of the

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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahia Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 531
offense to mention a dead person by name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 736
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 532
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273 ●
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Purero where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when 776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord 789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may 438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells